20c FEBRUARY 18, 1952

China: The Threat of War—page 5

New Republic

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

A Summary of His Views on . . .

Loyalty, Foreign Policy, Labor and Inflation, McCarthyism, Crime and Local Self-Government

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Letters

The 1952 Campaign

● As a lifelong Democrat and democratic liberal, I am dismayed by your article, "President Truman Should Withdraw" (*NR*, Feb. 4). I believe many other rank-and-file—as well as outstanding—liberals share my dismay.

Your article is at least "iffy" and premature. You seem certain Taft will be the Republican candidate; I'm positive Truman will be nominated by the Democratic convention. I have great faith in the integrity of the *New Republic*; so in a Taft-Truman contest I am sure you would support Truman, the man you lambasted on February 4, a confusing situation sure to be exploited by the "hate Truman" clique.

Supporting your conclusion you admit it's based on "three opinions."

First, after praising Truman, you imply his only support comes from Negroes and "those who live by his patronage." I am not a Negro. I have never received, do not want and do not need "his patronage." Thus, you might add another type of Truman supporter.

Second, you show Taft is "strong politically," and "today far ahead." So was Dewey in 1948.

You state Truman can win "only against Taft," but "against Taft he is the weakest candidate." Why? Certainly a Taft-Truman contest would more clearly outline the true issues for Iowa farmers, Detroit factory workers, Yakima small businessmen and possibly for puzzled—if not confused and tired—liberals.

Third, by some rather involved reasoning you set forth: candidates aside, "the Democratic Party is as strong as the Republican Party in the Republican Midwest," and can win if Democratic Party control "rests in liberal hands." This leads to your indirect endorsement of Senator Kefauver's candidacy which you believe "has led voters to discuss candidates and therefore issues on their merits once more." Have you any doubt as to the result of a Truman-Kefauver poll among liberals both north and south of the Mason-Dixon line?

Candidates will be named and issues resolved at national conventions. Why should Truman shotgun his fire at hopeful souls now when he can rifle it at Taft after the formal nomination?

As for voters discussing "candidates and therefore issues," Truman's majority in 1948 in large measure came from voters who, either inarticulate or busy earning a living, engaged in little discussion. But, they had definite ideas on how they should vote for the good of themselves, their children, the nation and the world. In 1952 these voters — the independents who decide elections—will also know the real issues.

For Truman, sometimes an inept politician, showed his political genius at clarifying issues in 1948 when discouraged liberals, glorified ward-heelers in his own party, some of his official family and local candidates didn't have enough loyalty or political prescience to aid him. . . .

You condemn Truman's "indecision" regarding his candidacy. Indecision? Do you really think former Senator Truman, no political amateur, doesn't know precisely what he is going to do under certain pending political conditions? One of these conditions will be the strength or weakness of the Eisenhower position after certain primaries. Another, the reckless irresponsibilities which may come from power-crazed Republicans in the House and Senate. . . .

The Truman candidacy, you fear, will be blasted by attacks on "an administrative record that few are willing to defend."

Don't you agree that every Democratic candidate — Kefauver, Stevenson, Sir Lancelot or the county dog catcher—will be targets for all the dead cats, lying canard and assorted innuendoes which can be fired by those frustrated political master minds who have been detached from their emoluments for 20 years? Example: the Crump filth against estimable Senator Kefauver would be magnified and supplemented by new lies. Or haven't you heard the industriously circulated "inside" information that Kefauver is being supported by gamblers and other crime committee figures so he can be kicked upstairs and not have time to bother them?

Or haven't you contrasted Governor Stevenson's report on gambling machines (*Atlantic* magazine for February) with the Chicago *Tribune's* interpretation of Stevenson's honesty?

As for "administrative record": if some of the pussyfooters and "turn the other cheek" characters high in the Democratic Party — and Administration — would do like Truman did in the 1948 election they might deserve their jobs. For instance if they had the ability, courage and gumption to do a little realistic politicking by comparing the "administrative record" with Congressional conniving and chicanery, which "record" would receive most approval or disapproval from voters? I'm certain the decision of liberals and other Americans would be easy. But they are puzzled when an honest journal like the *New Republic*, with its usually competent reporting and analysis, comes out with what I am sure isn't very good "opinion."

Washington, D. C. J. R. CONNOR

An End to Containment

● "An End to Containment" (*NR*, Jan. 1) struck me as a lucid explanation of our present policy toward Russia and a fine approach to going beyond it really to solve the problem of Soviet imperialism. Although the author may claim lack of space prevented him from expanding his ideas, some statements were pretty broad. That "Communist victory [in China] was made possible by the eight years Chiang fought with Japan" is debatable. There surely were considerations other than the war with Japan which caused the Chinese people to lose faith in that man whom General Stillwell "affectionately" termed "peanut." Perhaps the moral influence exerted by a fully prosperous and free Germany and Austria may *inevitably* lead to throwing off the Communist yoke in Czechoslovakia, but "inevitably" may mean 50 years in this case. As long as we do not precipitate aggression and the Russians maintain armed forces in Czechoslovakia, that

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

No-Progress Report

Please be advised that the film titled "Francis Covers the Big Town," temporarily changed to "Francis, Racket Buster," is now finally titled "Francis Covers the Big Town." — *A press release from Universal Pictures.*

The Peace That Passes Understanding

"Readers find peace and contentment in the advertising pages. Beyond the thin fabric of fear and uncertainty that the editor weaves in the news columns is a fairly solid wall of reassurance in the advertising columns." — *John P. Cunningham, vice-president of Cunningham, Walsh, as quoted in* Printers' Ink.

The Lid's Off

The government said yesterday it no longer is interested in keeping its price freeze on such things as dinosaur skeletons, bowling pins, sundials, and stuffed elephants and donkeys used for educational purposes. . . . The Office of Price Stabilization order also exempted "nonedible foods." It was explained that this means such things as "wax fruits" and "plastic turkeys." — *From the Washington* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

ALL THE GOP big shots are out of town cannonading at Lincoln Day banquets this week, and next comes the Democrats' turn at Jackson-Jefferson Day rallies. It is somehow comforting to reflect that the nation's business is so efficiently organized that the absence of successive waves of Congressmen hardly affects matters here. Legislation is at a near-standstill anyway, so oratorical time-outs hardly count.

The late George VI was a good and steadfast king who will be missed. We doubt if the death of any English monarch has caused more attention in US newspapers. Surely the hold the British royal family has on Americans is too important to be ignored. Though we have never gone in much for monarchies, we confess the new Queen Elizabeth (while she was over here recently) charmed us no end.

The New York *Times* gave the royal story triple eight-column headlines and more than half of the front page, with five solid pages inside. The New York *Herald-Tribune* found space for only three other stories on its whole front page the day after the King died. Though America is still at war, the *Herald-Tribune* pushed the Korean news back to page 15. Even Colonel McCormick's anti-British *Times-Herald* here in Washington devoted two-fifths of its front page to the royal family—a smaller ratio, perhaps, than some other newspapers, but after all it husbands space these days to tell how well the Taft campaign is doing and to belabor the Administration. The British royal family is apparently a symbol of stability, security and romance for the American people these anxious days—more than we had guessed.

If America has a common feeling with the British it is nice to discover that we have something in common with the Russians, too—Herbert Hoover. *Pravda* has reprinted Hoover's recent "little America" speech almost in toto, in company with the New York *Times* and the *US News*. The Russian press can't say enough kind things about it, thereby making a gratifying common bond with some of our finest old Union League families. Mr. Hoover seems to be an acquired taste which we have never quite developed. But we mean to keep on trying. We take heart from the example of I.F. Stone of the New York *Daily Compass*; he used to belabor Hoover, but now he finds that Mr. Hoover "makes sense."

Rep. Thomas J. Lane (R, Mass.) beat his breast the other day at the way New England is losing business. More than $675 million have been spent by the nation's textile industry for new plant and equipment since the war but, he reports, you will find practically none of this in "Lawrence, Lowell, Fall River or New Bedford." In the first quarter of 1952, $5.7 billion was invested in new plant and equipment for the nation, but New England is out of it. He mournfully reports that the textile industry's migration from New England to the South "will be completed by 1960." Mr. Lane's curious solution is that "management and labor must learn to pull together."

There is no word of facts brought out in the July, 1951, report to the Council of Economic Advisers on "The New England Economy." In brief these are that conservative New England prejudices are strangling the region. New England Congressmen backed the Taft-Hartley law: this has blocked unionization in the South to which the New England textile industry is rapidly moving because of low non-union wages. New England power rates are the highest in the nation while entrenched New England interests are fighting the St. Lawrence waterway which would help improve the situation. The federal government is developing river systems in

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other areas, but snooty New England Republicans loathe Washington and will have none of it. There is something psychopathic in this. As last summer's report commented: "One of the most perplexing problems facing New England . . . is its attitude toward federal activities. In general, influential people of New England with the important exception of many labor groups are critical of federal policies and urge retrenchment." New England alone, for example, has none of the nation's 156 federal hydro-projects. There is something awe-inspiring in this willingness to die for a principle, but it is tough on unemployed textile and shoe workers.

For its size, we doubt if any recent Congressional act has caused more ill-will among friendly nations than the amendment to the Defense Production Act putting a prohibitive tariff on cheese and other dairy products. Denmark, Holland, Switzerland and Canada are outraged at this handiwork of the US dairy lobby. The Senate has just rejected an effort to repeal the affront. The House has now voted to raise the tariff on Japan's tuna fish, and the Senate will probably follow suit just as we are trying to rehabilitate Japan. Other tariff increases are on the way that will prove to be increasingly dangerous as continued efforts to avert them fail. The damage to the United States international policy is out of all proportion to their size.

Notes: Bob Taft's Ohio machine is fighting brother Charles Taft's candidacy for the governorship nomination; Ben E. Tate, Bob's 1950 campaign treasurer, is leading the attack. . . . Potent new Democratic Chairman Frank McKinney has persuaded Truman to reverse himself twice recently on public stands, putting collectors of internal revenue under civil service and entering the New Hampshire primary. . . . Congress has no more intention of passing a drastic UMT bill than higher taxes. . . . Forty-six GOP Senators who pledged themselves to defend "freedom of the press" last October are keeping mum on McCarthy's effort to damage *Time* magazine by reprisals against advertisers.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

country stands to remain under Soviet domination regardless of the effect of external influences.

General Phillips' low opinion of the Voice of America as a potential weapon seems shortsighted. A dozen truly effective voices of America would be of tremendous propaganda value as a sounding board, especially since these "voices" would be much more personal than second-hand news and radio reports concerning activities. . . .

LAWRENCE GOULD

Cleveland Heights, Ohio

● . . . The article "An End to Containment" (*NR*, January 21) advocated active measures to eliminate Russian influence from her East European satellites. In other words, Russia is to be asked to do what we did after World War I and regretted: fight a world war and then crawl back into her shell.

Russia's answer would undoubtedly be the same as our position regarding our Pacific conquests: we have won this with our blood and we will not lightly give it up. Refusal to recognize Russia's new dominance in Eastern Europe as a new *status quo* is a sure-fire prescription for a third world war. Like the wars of Justinian, it would be a war to resurrect a bygone system.

San Francisco GEORGE OLSHAUSEN

Catholics and Liberalism

● While I appreciate that friend and foe do find a sounding board in the *NR* (as it should be), it seems to me that Vincent J. Giese in his description of "Liberalism" as a "Catholic View" went overboard and took his liberal friends too much for granted, instinctively knowing they would wince. And wince we certainly did.

Giese feels that any liberal grouping has to place at "the very center of human history the fact of the Incarnation and Resurrection of Jesus Christ." In stating so, he hastily added his assurance of his "great respect for the good will and the generosity of non-Christian liberals." Well, he won't get it. Not only that. I venture to guess that some of his co-religionists will disagree—if for no other reasons than the fact that he is sowing disunity, antagonism and, perhaps, sedition into a discussion which even the Pope would not and will not sanction.

As in Lessing's parable of the three rings, Mr. Giese claims that Catholicism, being the only true religion, can tolerate or participate only in such discussion or movement (may that be "liberalism" or other "isms") as is based on Catholic principles. We have been through this time and again and there seems to me nothing new in this argument. But why bring it up at this time, when unity among so-called liberals is of cardinal importance for survival? It is obvious for non-Catholics (and I am one) that Mr. Giese neither appears to be a liberal (because of his dogmatism, if for no other reason) nor even a devout Catholic, judging from various bulls of the Pope, letters of cardinals in this country, etc., all of which indicate (or so it seems) a spirit of working together against common enemies, may they be Communism, Fascism, poverty or ignorance. This spirit of working together seems to me denied by Giese when he states dogmatically that "without these basic beliefs [fact of Incarnation and Resurrection of Jesus Christ] freedom and justice are at best shaky."

I am sure many another reader will join with me in the condemnation of such brash statements, as they would constitute a *numerus clausus* not only toward small non-Christian minorities in this country (for example, the Jews) but the majority of all inhabitants on earth, a majority to which Christians do not belong. . . .

Los Angeles, Calif. HANS A. ILLING

The State of the Union

● Congratulations on your article (*NR*, Jan. 14) on "The State of the Union." As it is unsigned I assume that it is teamwork on the part of your staff. . . . It is a pity that President Truman did not adopt your statement in the place of that prepared for him by his staff. How I long for the day when before making any speech touching foreign relations a statesman will ask himself: "Will what I am about to say advance the cause of world peace?"

This would also accord with the advice of General Washington in his "Farewell Address." After all, General Washington did have longer experience in the conduct of foreign affairs, and in just as critical times, than President Truman has had. Perhaps also he had greater intuition than President Truman has heretofore shown or is ever likely to display now or in the future.

Berkeley, Calif. CHARLES B. COLLINS

A special eight-page reprint of the material in this issue on Gov. Adlai Stevenson's views on public affairs can be purchased on order from the *New Republic*, 1416 F St., N.W., Washington, D. C. The price of individual reprints is 10 cents. Discounts on quantity orders will be quoted on request.

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New Republic

CHINA: THE THREAT OF WAR

THE CRITICAL phrase in Winston Churchill's report to Congress, it turns out, was his assurance concerning further aggression by Communist China. He said:

> We welcome your patience in the armistice negotiations, and our two countries are agreed that if the truce we seek is reached only to be broken, our response will be prompt, resolute and effective.

That was a good statement, yet it aroused a storm of protest in England, and led to an angry and bitter debate. We need to ask *why*?

One part of this debate concerned the mood and intentions of the United States. The Conservatives maintained that the United States is doing all that it can to secure peace in Asia. The Bevanites argued that the US, led by MacArthurites, is bent on aggressive war.

A second part of the debate concerned the possibilities of military action against China. The Conservatives argued that further military aggression could only be deterred by the threat of counteraction. The Bevanites seemed to argue that under no circumstances should Britain commit herself to war against China.

This same debate is raging in all free nations. In somewhat different terms it will dominate our own Presidential campaign. On both questions therefore, it is useful to restate the issues.

First, *concerning the mood and intentions of the US:*

There is no question in our minds that Anthony Eden was right in insisting that America is anxiously and actively seeking to avoid a general war in Asia.

At the same time it is foolish to deny that there are pressures directing us toward war with China.

These pressures can be defined in three rough groups.

There are the political pressures, centering principally in the Republican Party. Its leaders have been in opposition so long, and are so desperate to return to power, that many have abandoned the responsibilities of opposition and power. They speak in one breath of "Truman's war" and in the next accuse Truman of failing to prosecute his own war. They insist that the war is intolerably costly and add that it should be widened to all China. They are gambling lives against votes and since Americans want to live, they would be bound to lose unless Communist intransigence rescue them. If this should happen, then to some in the Administration jingoism may seem an acceptable way of holding power, even if it hardens the diplomatic freeze.

There are further military pressures that direct us toward war with China. They center today in Air Force and Navy leaders who are calling for a new policy of "bomb and blockade."

One year ago Maj. Gen. Emmett O'Donnell Jr. was disciplined by the Air Force for advocating publicly the bombing of bases in Manchuria. Today these bases are too well protected to be attacked. Seven hundred jet fighters and bombers have moved up in recent months to positions against the 200,000 men that are the core of our military power. And while these jet fighters are too short-ranged to operate from Manchuria against our soldiers, major bases are under construction in North Korea. Our Air Force is keeping these bases out of commission by bombardment. Yet Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, Chief of Staff of the Air Force, declares that we are losing air supremacy in Korea. Air Force leaders fear that if the truce talks drag out, it may be the Communists who will be able to pour liquid fire on our young men. And some believe that this danger is so great that it warrants the bombing of railroads, ports and marshalling yards throughout China in order to disperse the concentration of air power now directed against our troops.

A third pressure directing us toward war with China is the pressure of allies who stand to gain by war.

These groups include extremists in Indo-China and all South Asia who see no hope, short of war, of bringing enough pressure to bear on their own front lines to withstand and repulse local pressures from Communist armies. They include men around Syngman Rhee to whom a truce that perpetuates the division of Korea is intolerable. And foremost among them is Chiang Kai-shek whose failing fortunes can be revived only by a third world war. Chiang's own troops on Formosa could not last a fortnight on the mainland of China. Yet in Burma, 9,000 Chinese Nationalist troops are now operating beyond the control of the Burmese Government. These troops are armed with American weapons sent by Chiang through

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Thailand. They are aided by American volunteers. In April, 1951, they invaded Yunnan on orders from Chiang, and with the knowledge of the US. Their commander, General Li Mi is at present in Formosa. The Burmese Government has charged at the UN that these troops are "killing our men, taking our food and raping our women." Burmese delegates have indicated a willingness to call on the Chinese Communists for aid with full awareness of the crisis that would follow.

These are the pressures directing us toward war with China. Against them is the opposition of General Bradley to any strategy that "would involve us in the wrong war at the wrong place, at the wrong time and with the wrong enemy." "A policy of patience and determination without provoking war . . . is one which we believe we must continue to follow," General Bradley told the Senate Committee investigating General MacArthur's dismissal last May. A shift of that policy, to one of deliberately widening the war against China, is one the Joint Chiefs of Staff cannot and should not make. It is a decision which, under Taft's own doctrine, Congress alone can take, and one we refuse to believe Congress will take in circumstances that identify America as the aggressor.

The second part of the continuing debate on China policy concerns the use of pressure, including armed force, against the Chinese Communists.

The Bevanite position, at heart, is that under no circumstances should the Western Nations be drawn into war with China. That position, if adopted, would destroy the collective-security aspects of the UN in the Far East, and open the way to Communist conquest or domination of Asia. That much must be silently acknowledged by those who seek to forbid at any time the use of force. They look on developments in China as part of the national revolution in Asia. They believe that the Western nations must evacuate Asia as armed powers and superiors, in order to be invited back as technicians and equals when the dust settles later on. It is a position not too far removed from George Kennan's own comment after the collapse of the Chinese Nationalists:

> . . . We are now on the road to a relationship to China . . . unencumbered by past involvements and illusions. Our state is pretty well clean, and I am afraid that it had to become clean, at whatever cost, before we could even make a beginning on a constructive and effective policy toward that country.

The road was closed by the blunder of the Russians in instigating the North Korean attack, and our own blunder in pressing back beyond the 38th Parallel. From now on we are committed to checking the Communist armies in Asia, and we cannot avoid the risks of war.

We cannot avoid the risks. Yet we must remember that war is an ultimate resort, that the Peking regime is a strong, not a weak, regime and that China itself is largely invulnerable to half measures of bombing and blockade.

Today, there is a full embargo on Chinese-American trade, and US ships are forbidden to carry the trade of other countries to China. The Additional Measures Committee of the UN has extended a partial embargo on strategic goods to other UN members, and this embargo is partially observed. The embargo is sound while China fights the UN. But neither embargo, nor blockade, will bring China to her knees.

The bombing of China offers little more hope for a quick decision. It would mean using long-range bombers based on Japan and Okinawa and escorted by jet fighters from South Korea. The limited range of these escorts would leave the major targets of central China, North China and most of Manchuria beyond reach. The bombing of railroads has been proved in Korea to be indecisive. There, with no opposition and a front only 150 miles long, the Air Force has broken the one major railroad of North Korea 3,000 times. Yet the soldiers on the front lines continue to be well supplied.

In contrast, the costs of bombing have been summed up by the Australian expert, W. MacMahon Ball.

> As the air strikes become less selective they arouse a wider and deeper hostility among the civilians whatever their political sympathies, if any, at the beginning of the campaign. It would be hardly possible to exaggerate the hatred for the West that its military airplanes have sown in the hearts of Asian civilians. They not only make the Chinese hate Americans or Viet-Namese hate the French or Malayans the British. They make Easterners hate Westerners. To many simple people in East Asia they represent their only direct experience of the scientific achievements of Western civilization.

The final argument against the use of strategic air power to bomb China was given by General Vandenberg, in testifying on the MacArthur dismissal:

> . . . . the shoestring Air Force that we are operating today . . . must not be utilized . . . for anything except holding it intact . . . against a major power because . . it is the sole deterrent to war up to this time; and if we emasculate it, that sole deterrent will be gone

This does not mean that we can prohibit all possibility of military action against China. The knowledge that America's whole power may be brought to bear is an important factor in deterring Chinese aggression. But

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military action and counter-action must be taken only to achieve clear objectives for which the action is appropriate.

Military action against all China is not appropriate in order to protect troops in Korea now threatened by Communist air power. This action would threaten Soviet intervention from Manchuria, and our troops would be left in far greater peril.

Military action against all China is not appropriate to intimidate the Communist regime. It could easily lead to world war, and we would then be fully occupied in Europe and against Russia.

Military action against all China is not appropriate to counter non-military intervention by China in South Asia. We ourselves are intervening in many countries to arm, aid and influence non-Communist groups.

Military action against all China is not appropriate to force agreement on a Korean truce. The truce is only one episode in a continuing struggle against Communist expansion, and the benefits of a truce to us are by no means so great, or so one-sided, as to make the conclusion of a truce the pretext for world war.

Lastly, military action against all China is not appropriate to back up the Chinese Nationalists. In George Kennan's words:

> I can conceive of no more ghastly and fateful mistake, and nothing more calculated to confuse the issues in the world today than for us to go into another great country and try to uphold by force of our own blood and treasure a regime which has clearly lost the confidence of its own people. Nothing could please our enemies more.

To uphold the United Nations and the integrity of independent nations by repelling aggression is a cause which may require general action against China and certainly requires the threat of general action. It is not action in which we strike first. And lest we become mesmerized by the example of North Korea, we should remember that armed action is not the primary means of Communist conquest in Asia, and that Stalin rarely makes the same mistake twice.

EISENHOWER OR McCARTHY?

WE HOPE that General Eisenhower will return home in the near future to speak for himself as a candidate for President. If he does not, there is real danger that the Republicans will nominate Robert A. Taft. In that event, the GOP's 20 years out of power would probably lengthen to 24 and, under Taft's leadership, the GOP could degenerate into a fringe party, incapable of holding up its end of our two-party system.

Experienced political observers already see the Republican race as a question of "Can Eisenhower develop enough strength to stop Taft?" The seasoned Taft organization has laid its lines well all over the country. The professionals who habitually are the delegates to the national convention wanted Taft in 1944 and again in 1948, as most of the reporters who viewed the proceedings in those year recognized. Both times these delegates were forced to take a "more electable" candidate. This time they are determined to have Taft.

It will be hard at best to translate the popular sentiment among Republican voters for Eisenhower into votes for him at the convention. But without a clear statement of his views on major questions of policy and an opportunity to compare them with those espoused by Taft, public opinion will lack the stimulus to bring pressure on the Convention. The inexpert management of Eisenhower's candidacy being provided by Sens. Henry Cabot Lodge and James Duff is not likely to produce victory for the General. No amount of television showmanship as unveiled in the recent star-studded two-hour telecast from Madison Square Garden can be as effective with public opinion as a few clear statements from General Eisenhower.

Unless Taft is stopped at Chicago, the Republican Party will be in for four years of Taft and McCarthy, in which the Wisconsin Senator could become the dominant spirit of the GOP. McCarthy's hold within his party has strengthened during the last year. Even among the respectable element a kind of grudging admiration for his "success" has grown up. One informed guesser estimates that were Republican Senators again given the opportunity to join in the Declaration of Conscience put forward against McCarthyism by Margaret Chase Smith in 1950, probably only four instead of seven would sign it today. Given four years of Taft leadership in which to spread its evil influence, McCarthyism might choke off all other types of Republicanism and, by contact, come to infect more and more phases of American life.

These are consequences of far more concern than whether a Truman or an Eisenhower is in the White House. Perhaps the most urgent political task in America today is to destroy the malignant and dark philosophy which McCarthyism, under Taft protection, has become. General Eisenhower could lead his party away from Taftism. We hope that he will come home and do so.

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Outside America

THE HIGH COST OF FRANCO

The deal with Francisco Franco's Spain is the latest—and not the least rank—flowering of the American policy of political appeasement for reasons of military expediency, a policy first applied a dozen years ago in the decision to maintain relations with Philippe Petain's Vichy France. There is little doubt that the task of mobilizing the Western Europeans for willing defense of their freedoms would be somewhat easier if their moral fiber were not weakened by the wounds and scars left by that policy.

It is true that even those Europeans who are still naïve enough to distrust the totalitarianisms of the Right almost as heartily as they reject those of the Left, are for the most part resigned—with varying degrees of bitterness—to the deal with Franco. Obviously, the protection of Western Europe from aggression is worth while; and the price of defense must come high. But the Europeans to whom the idea of freedom is still more than a convenient counter in a game of power bargaining wonder whether the deal is the last or only the latest.

And their question is how much freedom of the peoples of the free world must be sacrificed in order to pay the price of the military defense of the nations of the free world. On behalf of the Mutual Security Agency, hence of the US Government, Paul R. Porter has been defending the Franco deal on the ground that it is exactly like the one with Marshal Josef Broz Tito. Of course, bases, divisions and guns are what they are; and if you need them, you pay for them, sometimes at black-market, or even blackmail, prices. But to Europeans who have had a bit more experience than Americans with guns for hire, it matters whether the guns that are eventually to be pointed at your enemies are in the meantime pointed at your friends. Tito broke with Marshal Stalin. He might have been an ally of the kingpin totalitarian of the Left; instead he is our ally. And though he still runs a police state, there has been in his country a slow, gradual loosening of the bonds of organized intimidation. That isn't a growth of freedom by American or Western standards; it is a trend in the right direction.

Franco, however, has broken with nothing. He remains, in his person, the kingpin of the totalitarians of the Right. His very political existence—and now, his new success—are shining examples to those Europeans whose emergence from under flat rocks is becoming not only an absolution from past guilt but also a process of pointing proudly to the filthy glories of participation in crusades against Communism that were also wars of extermination of everything the democratic West knows as true freedom.

Franco has not broken with his cruel and bloody past. On the contrary. Only recently he betrayed his government's implied promise to refrain from reprisals against the men who, rightly or wrongly, are accused of responsibility for the Barcelona strike. The deal with Franco is a tragedy for the free world, and not only because in practical effect it gives American approval to the betrayal of these men—certainly not Communists—and of every Spaniard who dares to take risks for his people's freedom. It is a tragedy because, in justifying Franco's arrogant stand—"I did not go to them: they came to me"—it emboldens all those Europeans who welcome the perhaps necessary subordination of reform to rearmament as sanctioning a going back to the counter-reform of reaction.

While Porter was in Madrid, a hundred or so Germans were released from Werl and Landsberg, most of them concentration-camp guards who had carried out unspeakable atrocities with their own hands. And Dr. Thomas Dehler, who is Konrad Adenauer's Minister of Justice, hence a friend of America, said that not since the time of Frederick the Great had Germany carried out an aggression in Europe.

But it is not only in Germany and Italy that Europeans who exult in the Franco deal are riding high to power on the wave of neo-appeasement. Here are a few French names listed by Roger Stephane in *l'Observateur:*

Temple, now minister of Veterans and Deportees, was the prefect under Petain who tried to sabotage the American landing in North Africa in 1949. His chief of staff, Didkowski, was the prefect under Petain who arrested Edouard Herriot. De Margerie, now Deputy Director for Political Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay, a Petainist consul in China, was the last French diplomat to distribute the Nazi DNB propaganda. Fatou, chief of staff of Admiral Platon, who hunted down the Free French in the colonies, has been re-appointed to the Council of State. Huet, who was interned for two years in Brazzaville for pro-Nazi activities, has been given a high post in the Ministry of the Colonies. Chauvet, aide to Admiral Decoux, who tracked down resisters and wrote collaborationist articles in Indo-China, has been named Governor-General of French Equatorial Africa. And his two closest aides, Gautier and Aurillac, have been named to direct the civil administration in Indo-China.

Of course, such men—and many others like them—have not been brought back to power by the Americans. They are products of a system, a bad system, which maintains deep sources of weakness in that French social structure which should be, in terms of American policy, the bulwark of strength of the European sector of the free world. But it was the Vichy policy that saved the system, and it is Francisco Franco's deal that is giving it a renewed lease on life.

The decision to appease Franco in order to buy his Spain as a position of strength for the free world may have been militarily right. It was psychologically wrong for the task of mobilizing the co-operation of men who are still free within the free world. Hopes and desires and ambitions of men are also what they are; and if you want able men behind the guns, you cannot afford to betray them.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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ADLAI E. STEVENSON

Despite his present reticence, the newest contender for the Presidency is Adlai Stevenson, Governor of Illinois.

As Governor, Stevenson's record is outstanding in reorganizing state government, increasing aid to schools, overhauling roads and road financing, improving welfare services, attacking gambling and corruption, working deftly to get the most from a Republican legislature.

As a candidate, Stevenson is a strong campaigner, a trained expert in world politics, a spokesman for a healthy and solid Midwest liberalism; a man set apart from the weaknesses of the present Administration.

As primaries pass and conventions approach, voters will want to know more of the views of all possible Presidential candidates. For this reason, the New Republic *prints Stevenson's views on some issues of national concern.*

AT THE HEIGHT of the hysteria created by the reckless investigations of State Sen. Paul W. Broyles' Seditious Activities Investigation Commission, the Commission introduced in the legislature a bill requiring everything from dismissal from public office of any person "directly or indirectly" affiliated with any "subversive" group to the organization of an "anti-subversive squad" that would police the state. The bill passed the Illinois House and Senate by votes of more than two to one. But when it reached the Governor's desk, Stevenson refused to be intimidated. On June 26, 1951, Stevenson vetoed the Broyles Bill. His message in part was as follows:

Adlai E. Stevenson

On Liberty

I veto and withhold my approval from this bill for the following reasons:

The stated purpose of this bill is to combat the menace of world Communism. That the Communist Party—and all it stands for—is a danger to our Republic, as real as it is sinister, is clear to all who have the slightest understanding of our democracy. No one attached to the principles of our society will debate this premise or quarrel with the objectives of this bill.

Agreed upon ends, our concern is with means. It is in the choice of methods to deal with recognized problems that we Americans, in and out of public life, so often develop differences of opinion. Our freedom to do so is a great source of strength and, if not impaired by mistakes of our own, will contribute greatly to the ultimate confusion of the enemies of freedom.

The issue with respect to means raised by this bill has two aspects. One is the question of the need for it in relation to existing weapons for the control of subversives. The other is whether this addition to our arsenal may not be a two-edged sword, more dangerous to ourselves than to our foes.

Were the latter alone involved, I should hesitate to impose my judgment upon that of the majority of the General Assembly. But it is precisely because the evil at hand has long since been identified and provided against that we here in Illinois need not now do something bad just for the sake of doing something. . . .

Senate Bill No. 102 makes it a felony to commit or attempt any act intended to overthrow by force the federal or state governments, or any of their political subdivisions; to advocate or teach the commission of such acts; or to have any connection with an organization devoted to such an objective. This approach parallels and duplicates criminal statutes of both the federal and state governments already in effect. . . .

But it is in the enforcement provisions that I find this bill most objectionable. The Attorney General of Illinois is directed to appoint a Special Assistant Attorney General who must assemble and deliver to the State's Attorney of each county all information relating to subversive acts or activities within such county. The local State's Attorney then must present this matter to the Grand

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Jury. The Assistant Attorney General in Springfield must maintain complete records of all such information which may, with the permission of the Attorney General, be made public. . . .

I know of no precedent for any such interference with the normal discretion accorded to a public prosecutor. One of the important responsibilities of State's Attorneys and one of the greatest protections of the citizen is the exercise of sound judgment in sifting the many rumors, charges and counter-charges which come to State's Attorneys' attention.

I can see nothing but grave peril to the reputations of innocent people in this perpetuation of rumors and hearsay. When we already have sedition laws prohibiting the offenses to which these provisions relate, I see more danger than safety in such radical change in the administration of criminal justice.

Other substantive provisions in the bill are intended to assure the loyalty of the employees of the state government and its political subdivisions. All agencies of government must establish procedures to ascertain that there are no reasonable grounds to believe that any applicant for employment is committed, by act or teaching, to the overthrow of the government by force or is a member of an organization dedicated to that purpose. Thus, one who wishes to work for the state or to teach in a school must himself carry the burden of proving the absence of any reasonable grounds for belief that he is subversive or even belongs to a subversive organization. The bill does not even require that the applicant for employment know the purpose of such an organization. . . .

We cannot afford to make public employees vulnerable to malicious charges of disloyalty. So far as the employers are concerned—heads of departments and of schools and so on—the only safe policy would be timid employment practices which could only result in a lowering of the level of ability, independence and courage in our public agencies, schools and colleges.

Lastly, the bill provides that candidates for public office, other than offices for which an oath is prescribed by the Constitution, shall file an affidavit that he is not a subversive person. The Attorney General informs me that, despite the exception made, this requirement is of dubious constitutionality.

Does anyone seriously think that a real traitor will hesitate to sign a loyalty oath? Of course not. Really dangerous subversives and saboteurs will be caught by careful, constant, professional investigation, not by pieces of paper.

The whole notion of loyalty inquisitions is a natural characteristic of the police state, not of democracy. Knowing his rule rests upon compulsion rather than consent, the dictator must always assume the disloyalty, not of a few but of many, and guard against it by continual inquisition and "liquidation" of the unreliable. The history of Soviet Russia is a modern example of this ancient practice. The democratic state, on the other hand, is based on the consent of its members. The vast majority of our people are intensely loyal, as they have amply demonstrated. To question, even by implication, the loyalty and devotion of a large group of citizens is to create an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust which is neither justified, healthy nor consistent with our traditions.

Legislation of this type, in Illinois and elsewhere, is the direct result of the menacing gains of Communism in Europe and Asia. But it would be unrealistic, if not naïve, to assume that such legislation would be effective in combatting Communist treachery in America. Such state laws have nowhere uncovered a single case of subversive disloyalty.

Basically, the effect of this legislation, then, will be less the detection of subversives and more the intimidation of honest citizens. But we cannot suppress thought and expression and preserve the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. This is our dilemma. In time of danger we seek to protect ourselves from sedition, but in doing so we imperil the very freedoms we seek to protect just as we did in the evil atmosphere of the alien and sedition laws of John Adams' Administration and just as Britain did during the Napoleonic era. To resolve the dilemma we will all agree that in the last analysis the Republic must be protected at all costs, or there will be no freedoms to preserve or even regain. But if better means of protection already exist, then surely we should not further imperil the strength of freedom in search of illusory safety.

We must fight traitors with laws. We already have the laws. We must fight falsehood and evil ideas with truth and better ideas. We have them in plenty. But we must not confuse the two. Laws infringing our rights and intimidating unoffending persons without enlarging our security will neither catch subversives nor win converts to our better ideas. And in the long run evil ideas can be counteracted and conquered not by law but only by better ideas.

Finally, the states are not, in my judgment, equipped to deal with the threat of the world Communist movement which inspired this bill. Communism threatens us because it threatens world peace. The great problems with which Communism confronts us are problems of foreign relations and national defense. Our Constitution wisely

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leaves the solution of such matters to the national government.

In conclusion, while I respect the motives and patriotism of the proponents of this bill, I think there is in it more of danger to the liberties we seek to protect than of security for the Republic. It reverses our traditional concept of justice by placing upon the accused the burden of proving himself innocent. It makes felons of persons who may be guilty more of bad judgment than of anything else. It jeopardizes the freedom of sincere and honest citizens in an attempt to catch and punish subversives. It is unnecessary and redundant.

I know full well that this veto will be distorted and misunderstood, even as telling the truth of what I knew about the reputation of Alger Hiss was distorted and misunderstood. I know that to veto this bill in this period of grave anxiety will be unpopular with many. But I must, in good conscience, protest against any unnecessary suppression of our ancient rights as free men. Moreover, we will win the contest of ideas that afflicts the world not by suppressing these rights, but by their triumph. We must not burn down the house to kill rats.

On Foreign Policy

Believing as we do in a community of free nations and free peoples, acting peacefully and responsibly through governments freely chosen, we conclude at least that we cannot live in comfortable security with a great imperial power which has seen the barriers to its expansion collapse and is on the move again, taking here, probing there, and pressing relentlessly against the uncommitted, discontented millions. Capitalizing the ancient racial xenophobia and the messianic zeal to missionize the world of the Russian people the leaders of the new Russia, armed with force and the old weapon of fomented revolution, use the seductive new weapon of Communism to soften their victims. But whatever the trappings the methods, the weapons, the objective is domination—imperialism. I often think it would be both more accurate and more effective if we talked less of Communism with all its appeal for ignorant, miserable peoples and more of imperialism which threatens the freedom and independence of everyone and has no appeal. Communism can be a fighting faith, but imperialism is subtle slavery. . . .

How have we reacted to this condition of perpetual danger? It seems to me that for five years we have suffered from the confusion and distraction of alternate moments of illusion and despair. Hoping always for a cheap and painless escape from the realities of a distasteful destiny, aided and abetted by politicians who will say anything to be popular and by editors either myopic or worse, public opinion has moved in violent pendular swings between optimism and pessimism, between the mountains of complacency and the marshes of despair.

In fatuous haste to be shut of war worry and expense, we obliterate our power and leave it to the United Nations to keep a peace that never existed. When things go right we gush paeans of praise for the UN; when they go wrong we damn it. . . . Perpetual danger invites the complacency of status and we underestimate the peril of overconfidence in our virtue and power. . . . But the self-hypnosis of loud and repeated talk about our righteousness and freedom will rally no allies nor blow the Kremlin walls down.

And now as things get tough and we find we can't buy, threaten or preach our way to peace, we are menaced by amateur strategists. Even the isolationists have reappeared, flexing their muscles, or rather their tongues, and proclaiming: "Let the whole world go. We can defend ourselves with a strong navy and air force." I suppose at any moment even America First may emerge full blown again, except that I hope this time it is more properly entitled America Last—last on the Kremlin's list. . . .

Why should we be poor in spirit? The task is great, but the prize is better than life. With Europe and its great industrial concentration and forward bases shored up and steadfast, with access to the tin and rubber of South Asia, Middle-Eastern oil, African manganese and uranium, the scales are still weighted to the West. . . .

HERBLOCK IN THE WASHINGTON POST

One more spring

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Aggression must be called aggression in the UN. But in insisting on no equivocation about the legal and moral position, we dare not forget that the allegiance of India, uncommitted to East or West, is the ultimate objective of both East and West in the Orient. And we dare not fall into the trap, the oubliette, Russia has prepared for us in China. . . .

Military force alone cannot win the day for us in Asia. Our moral authority there is low because we are white and Asia is colored. Desperately poor, struggling to shake off the shackles of white colonialism, Asia is just now passing through the era of revolution, independence and self-determination that swept the Western world long ago. It will take great patience, great insight, great restraint for us . . . to win confidence and faith in the great uncommitted areas of Asia. But it can be done. . . .

It's easier to fight for principles than to live up to them. But now is the time that a passionate belief counts if we are to avoid another war, and if we are to avoid the greater menace of cowardly surrender to our own doubts and fears.

[From an address at Northwestern University's 100th Anniversary, January 8, 1951]

On Labor and Economics

Today, the practices and policies of labor organizations are invested with a public character they did not have in years gone by. No longer are your deliberations, and your decisions, of concern only in the union halls. Organized labor today exerts an enormous influence in almost every area of American life. . . . The outcome of this war for peace means far more to every man and woman who works for wages than any temporary ebb and flow of labor fortunes. It seems to me that is the all-important fact for us to remember. And it is almost equally important to remember that we cannot fight Russian expansionism with more guns and more production alone. We could gain these ends and still lose everything if we fail to win the fight against inflation. . . . I don't presume to say on what date wages could be frozen or on what date prices should have been stabilized. But I do say that prices and wages chasing each other upward are like a dog chasing his tail, and if we don't watch out we'll all get dizzy and topple into the abyss.

Unfortunately, Congress hasn't paid any more attention to organized labor's warnings and appeals for stronger price controls and a realistic tax program than it has to the President's. We are speeding along with bad brakes, and it isn't a prudent, safe way to travel. . . . But as of today we are falling back on the inflation front while we advance on the military front. . . .

We have made some noteworthy forward steps here in Illinois this year. . . . We succeeded in substantially increasing unemployment-compensation benefits. . . . The Workmen's Compensation and Occupational Diseases Act was improved. . . . Illinois was the only state that did not show an increase in industrial accidents this year. . . .

There have been some notable failures too. The legislature again failed this year to enact a fair-employment-practices law. It again refused a state minimum-wage law. And it again refused to extend the benefits of unemployment compensation to employees of establishments hiring six or fewer workers.

In my message to the General Assembly I urged that consideration be given to establishing in Illinois a system of temporary disability insurance. . . . The most recent available estimates indicate that fewer than one-fourth of the workers covered by the Unemployment Compensation Act are protected by any kind of group health insurance. I believe Illinois should, and I hope will, soon take its place among the progressive states recognizing the need for disability insurance.

In my message to the legislature, urging a more workable minimum-wage act, I said, "the legislature should give attention to broadening and strengthening our present law which is cumbersome and obsolete." Our present act was passed in 1933. It applies only to women and minors. It does not establish, for intrastate workers, a flat minimum wage as the federal law does for employees in interstate industry. . . . I hardly need say more about the existing law. . . . But the bill introduced at the last session, proposing a flat minimum wage of 75 cents an hour for intrastate workers, was defeated by seven votes in the House of Representatives. . . .

Organized labor can exert a useful influence in public affairs. A broad view of its public responsibility is the handmaiden of its public influence. It must not be afraid to recognize and correct abuses in its own sphere. It can no longer content itself with unthinking and combative reflex actions. To sacrifice sound principle for immediate advantage is to injure the people it serves.

[From a speech delivered at the 69th Convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor last year.]

On McCarthyism

. . . "McCarthyism" has become the trademark of a new breed of political demagogue who frightens the people with epithets, carelessly impugns the loyalty of patriotic men and shouts dire forebodings of a treacherous doom for America and all her cherished institutions. It is sad that America, at the height of her power, influence and well-being, should be ringing with slander, epithet, ill temper and the counsels of political despera-

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tion when all the world looks to us for dignity, sanity and confident leadership.

But the people have been listening to these voices of doom for the past 20 years now . . . and meanwhile we have emerged from a grim depression and never been more prosperous; we have destroyed the Nazi menace and are fighting the even greater Communist menace to a standstill with words, weapons and the faith of free men. . . .

And there are some words uttered by the first Republican which reckless politicians could well ponder. Abraham Lincoln said: "In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and eternity." Not only in times like the present, but at all times, we should do nothing for which we would not wish to be held accountable in the future. The responsibility for our moral standards rests heaviest upon the men and women in public life, because public confidence in the integrity of the government is indispensable to faith in democracy.

While the faithless must be exposed and rooted out of every place of public trust, it will be a tragic disaster if we forget the tens of thousands of honest, conscientious public servants. While generalities about crime and corruption in government which embraces the many good with the few bad can only make it harder to induce good people to enter public service. We do not lose faith in the banking system because a few bankers turn out to be embezzlers. . . .

We have all witnessed the stifling, choking effect of McCarthyism, the paralysis of initiative, the discouragement and intimidation that follows in its wake and inhibits the bold, imaginative thought and discussion that is the anvil of policy.

. . . there is much more at stake in all this current orgy of epithet and injury than the welfare of any man or, indeed, the result of any election. Long ago in his *American Notes* Charles Dickens said of us, brutally and prophetically:

> Any man who attains a high place among you, from the President downwards, may date his downfall from that moment; for any printed lie that any notorious villain pens, although it militate directly against the character and conduct of a life, appeals at once to your distrust, and is believed. You will strain at a gnat in the way of trustfulness and confidence, however fairly won and well deserved; but you will swallow a whole caravan of camels, if they be laden with unworthy doubts and mean suspicions. Is this well, think you, or likely to elevate the character of the governors or the governed among you?

[From an address at the Democratic National Committee, Chicago, December 13, 1951.]

On Crime and Local Self-Government

. . . At the annual meeting of the American Bar Association not long ago, the retiring president said that the most serious problem confronting bar and country alike was the trend toward centralization of governmental authority, the constant pushing of old and new public functions up to higher and higher levels. At the same meeting, the assembled membership, approved a report of the Bar Association's Commission on Organized Crime, recommending that state governments assume enlarged responsibilities and functions in the area of law enforcement. Now I am sympathetically conscious of Emerson's cautionary reminder that consistency is too often the hobgoblin of little minds, and we lawyers fancy that our professional training and experience have a liberating and broadening effect intellectually. Nevertheless, the apparent inconsistency is so transparent that a layman might well conclude that lawyers are no better than anyone else when it comes to keeping clear the relationships between our general principles and their application in concrete cases. . . .

The Commission in its report accepts and confirms the finding of the Kefauver Committee that "gambling profits are the principal support of big-time racketeering and gangsterism." I agree also with the additional finding that "the creeping paralysis of law enforcement

HERBLOCK IN THE WASHINGTON POST

Personally, I got one of them bipartisan policies

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which results from a failure to enforce the gambling laws spreads to other types of crimes and leads to a general breakdown in law enforcement." This spilling over of gambling profits and influence into other fields of still more intrinsic harmfulness and danger is one of the principal reasons why I have been against commercial gambling in Illinois—and why I always shall be. And not the least of the many pernicious effects of lax enforcement in the gambling field is its corrupting influence on politics and political organization. Democracy is not healthy when a large, illegal business—gambling—can control candidates and elections, can defeat and dishearten decent people who venture into politics. . . .

The immediate question is: How do we deal with this problem without compromising the values of local self-government? I think it fair to characterize the Commission's report and recommendations as looking clearly in the direction of greater power and responsibility for law enforcement at the state level. . . . The Commission concludes that "there must be a greater assumption of responsibility on the part of the state in connection with law enforcement," and "the state must provide the organization, the money, the manpower and the direction. . . . "

Now, whatever else this all may be and however valid, it is not home rule; it is not local self-government in its most basic aspect—law enforcement. It is a long stride toward, rather than away from, the progressive migration of authority and function from the bottom to the top. . . .

I suggest that it is timely to explore every possible alternative before we embark upon a source of funneling power over law enforcement to the state level. Once that level is reached, the pressures will build up—as they have already begun to do—to effect a further transfer to the federal government.

I think we should travel that inviting but hazardous road very slowly. In this instance I don't think we need travel it at all if we cultivate more positively the sense of community responsibility—if we stop preaching so much about the virtues of local management and begin to practice them. . . .

I should like to point out that public officials don't corrupt each other; that behind every bribe-taker in government is a bribe-giver, behind every fixer is a fix, behind every influence-peddler is someone who wants the influence, behind every lobbyist is a pressure group. Who are they? Why, they are "the people." And sometimes they are . . . the same "respectable" people who demand that all the officials in a government by the governed should be cleaner than the governed, cleaner than themselves. . . .

There is a price tag on good local government as there is on everything else. It must be paid for in active and continuing interest in local affairs, in self-denial in all those situations where self-indulgence—the double standard—has a harmful effect on the community at large, in willingness to press issues insistently in the face of strong personal and social pressures. . . .

[From an article by Governor Stevenson in the February, 1952, issue of The Atlantic.]

BIRTH CONTROL IN INDIA

by Bruce Bliven

India is undertaking one of the most dramatic and significant experiments in all history. Her government is preparing to teach contraception to her entire 360 million inhabitants, for the sake of better health for mothers and children, properly spaced families, reduction of poverty and, above all, to reduce the pressure of population on available food resources.

Whether this gigantic plan will work, no one as yet can say. But in any case it is of historic significance that the government of the second largest nation on earth should be undertaking such a step at a time when most countries throughout the world strictly forbid the dissemination of birth-control information or tacitly discourage it. Advocates of "planned parenthood" have been in the habit of saying that birth control is impossible in countries where the people are extremely poor and largely illiterate (the illiteracy rate in India is about 80 percent). Yet the Indian Government, with great courage, is embarking on its program despite these obstacles.

A few months ago, Dr. Abraham Stone, of the faculty of New York University Medical College, scientific director for the Margaret Sanger Research Bureau, went to India under the auspices of the UN World Health Organization at the invitation of the Indian Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, and with the full support of Prime Minister Nehru and his whole cabinet. The purpose was to see what could be done about India's rapid increase in population, which is augmenting day by day the already terribly serious problem.

India's net addition is at present very close to five million a year—one-fifth of the total world increase. To be sure, the Indian death rate is still very high—about three times what it is in continental United States, and the infant mortality rate more than four times the Ameri-

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can figure. Even in the best years, about a million Indians die of starvation. The life expectancy is only a little more than half of what we enjoy. Nevertheless, with modern medicine the death rate has gone down substantially, the birth rate has remained about the same, and the result is the appalling increase quoted above.

One of the first steps in the new campaign will involve a tremendous increase in the number of birth-control clinics in India. Of these there are at present about 50, many of which are very new. India already has about a thousand maternity and child-welfare clinics, and instruction in family planning is considered a legitimate part of these activities. If the tentative plans are carried to fruition, practicing physicians will be instructed in the best current thought on contraceptive techniques, and courses in the subject will be instituted in the medical schools. Research will also be conducted. The government is planning a vast propaganda campaign along American advertising lines, with radio speeches, movies, advertisements and pamphlets.

Several projects are being established for the study of the so-called rhythm method, based on the fact that a woman with a regular 28-day menstrual cycle can conceive only for a period of not more than 8 or 10 days halfway between the beginning of one cycle and the beginning of the next.

Dr. Stone and his associates have worked out a most ingenious system whereby this method can be applied even by illiterate women who are incapable of reading a calendar. A device like an abacus, with several threads strung parallel from one side to the other, has a series of beads mounted on each string. Each of these beads represents one day of the menstrual cycle and they are of various colors to represent the various phases, red for the period of menstruation, green for the "safe" interval, and black for the fertile period. Every day, the woman moves another bead along the string from one end toward the other, keeping the two groups of beads from sliding together by tying a short scrap of thread around the string at the proper place. For a number of months at the beginning, she keeps a record by moving beads, in order to determine her own particular cycle; the abacus is then adjusted for her by workers in the clinic so that the number of beads on each string represents the number of days in her own particular rhythm.

This technique is so new in India that it is still impossible to say whether it will prove effective. The rhythm method, used with scrupulous care, is highly efficient. I need not underline the tremendous potential importance of a method that requires no purchase of expensive appliances, if experience should prove that it can be used by illiterates, who constitute, at a rough guess, three-fifths of the world's population.

The rhythm method has been espoused, in the West, primarily by Roman Catholics; as early as 1933, it was described in a book by V. J. Coucke and J. J. Walsh, *The Sterile Period in Family Life*, with the approval of the American Cardinal Hayes. Late in 1951, Pope Pius XII issued a restatement of the Catholic position on the rhythm method that has been widely misunderstood as forbidding the use of this technique to space out children, and the work of the WHO in India has been attacked in some quarters on a basis of this assumption. But on the contrary, there is nothing in Catholic doctrine that contradicts such use of the rhythm method as is planned for India. What the Pope forbids is the use of the rhythm method when one or both partners in a marriage plan from the very beginning *never to have any children at all.* The true facts were set forth the other day by Dr. Brock Chisholm, Director General of the WHO when he said:

> Misleading statements have been currently made concerning WHO and studies in family planning to be carried out by the Indian Government, following recommendations of an expert consultant engaged by WHO. These misrepresentations have caused concern, especially to adherents of the Roman Catholic faith.
>
> I therefore wish to state that the so-called "rhythm method" of family planning (on which the Indian Government requested the advice of WHO) does not under clearly specified circumstances conflict with the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. Confirmation of this will be found in the addresses of Pope Pius XII as reported in *Il Osservatore Romano* of October 29 and 30 and November 29 last.
>
> From these it is clear that the Roman Catholic Church does not forbid this method of family planning, so long as it is justified by medical, economic or social reasons.

No other religion widely practiced in India is incompatible with the rhythm method—or, in fact, with any other technique for birth control.

What will be the attitude of the Indian population toward these efforts? This question cannot yet be answered with accuracy. The chief argument that will be employed by the government is the one against poverty: it will be emphasized that a family which spaces out its children and limits their total number to a reasonable maximum will have more money to spend on raising its standard of living, and particularly for education. Hardly any resistance has been encountered thus far, but the present clinics are in the big cities, and the real problem is in the villages. The best guess is that women will be in favor of the new idea, but that some of the men may regard it as an unwarranted interference with their rights.

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COMMUNIST-LED UNIONS AND US SECURITY

by Harry Conn

IN SCHENECTADY, N. Y., the giant General Electric plant is now turning out one of the largest concentrations of defense orders in the country, reaching a total value of some $90 million. From its massive buildings, guided missiles, jet propulsion engines, fire-control apparatus for new heavy bombers, turbo-generators for Navy ships—some of the most highly secret operations in the defense program—are being produced.

Individually, the workers at this plant are screened by General Electric which is pledged, as all defense contractors are, to enforce security regulations among its employees. Workers known to be Communists cannot be employed on classified jobs.

Collectively, these same workers are organized and represented by Local 301 of the United Electrical Workers—the union expelled from the CIO in 1949 under charges of Communist domination. And many of the officers of Local 301, daily in either direct or indirect contact with this sensitive work, are open, avowed and active Communists.

The shop steward for Buildings 12 and 28 where automatic gun sights are produced for the B-36, our largest and best bomber now in operation, is Al Davis, a known Communist. Recently Davis was barred from restricted areas, but he still handles the grievances of the workers in these areas and he must know their work and problems.

In Buildings 15, 17 and 19, Sidney Friedlander, who has admitted his Communist affiliations at union meetings, is a shop steward. He is a punch-press operator on a lower floor, but on the floor above him are toolmakers, die-setters doing restricted work with which the shop steward must be acquainted to handle their grievances.

The business agent of Local 301 of many years standing is Leo Jandreau, whom James Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO, has repeatedly labeled a Communist. Jandreau has never replied.

The Schenectady situation is not an isolated one. Scattered throughout the country are unions, representing workers in industries just as vital to the nation's defense effort, led by officers who have religiously followed the deviating programs of the Communist Party over the years. These are not wild and unsubstantiated charges but facts concerning a situation which is conceded on all sides. And it is not wild deduction to conclude that these Communist Party members in positions of union leadership would be traitors to their party if they did not use their positions to advance the interest of the Soviet Union. The interest of the Soviet Union in the production of electronics, jet engines, communications, non-ferrous metals mining, docks and transportation facilities are obvious. They are not countered by adequate safeguards today.

For the most part the Communist-led unions are made up of the 10 organizations expelled by the CIO in 1949 and 1950 under the charge of Communist domination. Those who have read the report of the CIO executive board hearings which led to the expulsions will recognize that these charges were well documented and amply substantiated.

At the time of their expulsion these unions numbered from 700,000 to 800,000 members. Today, following assimilations and amalgamations, the best estimate of their membership lies somewhere between 300,000 and 500,000, most of which is in defense industries. The International Union of Electrical Workers, established by the CIO to organize the electrical industry after the expulsion of UE, now numbers some 350,000 members—most of whom they picked up from the UE—but they just have not been able to win over the workers at such vital plants as General Electric's Erie and Schenectady installations, in Westinghouse's Lester and Baltimore shops, among many others.

Observers have concluded that the Communist-dominated unions are now down to their hard core and the members they have left are no longer easy marks for the non-Communist unions to take over. Workers historically have displayed loyalty to their unions unless the organization and officers have been completely derelict. And today, the UE appears to be holding much of its reduced membership of 150,000 to 200,000, including about 40,000 farm-equipment workers. Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union has felt the bite of the AFL Teamsters and Seamen Unions, among others, but has closed ranks. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers International, despite inroads made in the East by the CIO-Steelworkers, appears strong. The Marine Cooks and Stewards and the American Communications Association retain their limited but strategic memberships.

These are all facts which concern reasonable men who fear sabotage and subversion now or later on. Why have McCarran and McCarthy hunted in far less significant realms? Is there an alternative to the extension of Mc-

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Carthyism and McCarranism to factories and shops, with all their scope for loyalty investigations and punishment of innocent men? This issue is forcing itself on Congress, and partly to block the excesses of McCarran, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.), a rigorous defender of personal liberties and one of the most uncompromising supporters of organized labor in Congress, has raised the question of legislation. As chairman of a subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee, Humphrey is now exploring possible legislative approaches to the problem of Communist-dominated unions. He insists that he is not committed to any particular line of action but is planning open hearings to determine if a sound legislative approach is possible.

No one realizes more than Humphrey the inherent dangers in a legislative answer to this problem. For example, legislation which limits the right of workers to join unions of their own choosing would undermine a cherished right of all Americans. Humphrey of course is as committed to the preservation of a free labor movement as he is to the needs of national security. In search of a sound solution, his subcommittee has submitted questionnaires to 75 representatives of labor, industry, government and the public, seeking their views. Few replies have been made public, but a general survey of labor officials shows, with a singular exception, labor's opposition to a legislative approach.

CIO President Philip Murray wrote Humphrey:

We believe that if the government undertakes to determine what unions can represent workers in this country, it will have embarked upon the long trail toward government control of unions. In the dictatorships of the world, unions exist at the sufferance of the state. We in America do not want to take a single step in that direction.

AFL President William Green wrote the Senator:

I doubt very much that the domination of labor unions by Communists can be successfully dealt with by legislation. In my opinion this is a problem that can be handled by the membership of unions only. . . . Workers are moved by the spirit of voluntarism. Through voluntarism and freedom, they have prevented Communists from in any way dominating the affairs of any AFL union. Legislation would substitute for voluntarism. Workers resent compulsion.

The only legislative action recommended by the International Association of Machinists' head, Al J. Hayes, and George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the AFL, was the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Section 8 of the Act prohibits a union from ridding itself of Communists for any reason other than the non-payment of dues or initiation fees. Any other Congressional action they opposed.

Many sections of the labor movement, while unrelenting in opposition to legislation, freely admit that some type of action is needed in the interest of national security. One administrative proposal receiving serious consideration by the Humphrey subcommittee was submitted by Benjamin C. Sigal, chief counsel of the IUE, legal representative of the Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, CIO, and one of the nation's most experienced labor attorneys in matters affecting workers in critical defense installations. He would establish, within the National Munitions Board, the agency in the Department of Defense which handles defense contracts, a tripartite committee, representing procurement agencies, employers and labor. This committee, conducting proper hearings, would determine whether the charge of Communist domination is warranted. If the charge is considered warranted, the Munitions Board would take the following action:

In the case of a prospective contractor, it would refuse to give him the contract as long as he maintains contractual relations with the union involved.

In the case of the present contractor, it would direct him to cancel his contract with the union subject to losing his government contract if he does not comply.

Sigal's proposal actually stems from the action of the Atomic Energy Commission in two specific cases. At the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory, Schenectady, the AEC ordered the General Electric Company not to recognize the UE as the bargaining agent on the basis that the "risk in the particular situation was inconsistent with national security and that positive steps were required to eliminate the risk." At the next National Labor Relations Board election, KAPL workers voted overwhelmingly for IUE as the union of their choice even though UE was on the ballot. Similar action was taken at Argonne Laboratories at the University of Chicago against the United Public Workers. Two elements in the AEC procedure Sigal felt were significant: union officials involved were given full opportunity to defend themselves, and, secondly, definite assurances were given to the employees involved that any bargaining representation chosen by them, free of Communist affiliation, would be recognized.

Some of the merits of the IUE attorney's proposal, over and above the AEC procedure, are readily apparent. A tripartite board is a reasonable medium for decisions which will mean life or death to a union. Another problem is met squarely. Left-wing unions await a future role; normally, they cannot afford to show the militancy of yesteryear. So, many employers deal with them because it is profitable. Denying these firms contracts would halt this practice.

Sigal's plan is not the ultimate answer—there probably isn't any. It is offered only as an essential emergency measure in the interests of national security.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

MINORITY SOVEREIGNTY AND THE RIGHT TO VETO

by J. G. Randall

JOHN C. CALHOUN: SECTIONALIST, 1840-1850, by Charles M. Wiltse (Bobbs-Merrill; $6).

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF JOHN C. CALHOUN, by August O. Spain (Bookman Associates; $3.50).

IN THIS, his third and final volume, Charles Wiltse effectively presents Calhoun as the "sentinel of the South," a sentinel whose watchfulness was so intense that the close of his frustrated career takes on the poignancy of Greek tragedy. We have here the "roaring forties"—"54-40 or fight," slavery, abolition, Texas, Mexico, California, shouts against England, and a mid-century crisis that sharply threatened the Union. Abroad it was Marxism, Chartism, Irish famine, corn-law repeal, German 48ers, and revolution. Industrialism was inexorably advancing, tycoons were laying the "springboard for the age of big business" and economic forces were accenting sectionalism. Division between North and South, remarks Wiltse, existed "because of the nature of man, because of . . . the nineteenth century, because of history itself." These are powerful words.

As the decade rushed on, Calhoun demanded solutions, or avoidances, in terms of no tariff, no bank, no national debt, and defense of slavery. Yet abolitionism was active and such Democrats as Van Buren and Silas Wright were moving closer to anti-slavery sentiment. Hoping for the Presidential nomination of 1844, Calhoun saw the prize slip from his grasp as the Van Buren faction triumphed in organizing Congress. When deadlock ensued, Polk became the compromise candidate and was elected. Meanwhile Calhoun served briefly as Secretary of State in the closing phase of the Tyler Administration.

Expansionist drives stopped short of their objective as to Oregon, adjustment being made with Britain, but in the annexation of Texas and war with Mexico the clamoring advocates of "manifest destiny" won their shining goals. Calhoun approved in the case of Texas, but not in that of the Mexican War. Then came the sectional flare-up, the Wilmot proviso, the "great debate" in the Senate on the Compromise of 1850, and the Nashville convention to deal with contemplated secession. Calhoun believed in compromise as a governmental formula, but "*the* Compromise" as framed did not suit him, and his last speech (March, 1850, just before his death), which he was too weak to read, was little more than a repetition of his theory of government, a protest against the admission of California, a renewed defense of slavery and a warning that the Union was "in danger" because of anti-slavery agitation.

The distinguished South Carolinian left an elaborate doctrinal legacy in addresses, expositions, letters and disquisitions—an impressive structure of political philosophy. In view of the impact of his theories, though there were dissenting Southern voices, it is important to read the shorter Spain volume along with the Wiltse. Calhoun's idea of government—including its analogy to ancient Rome, modern Germany and present agrarians—is analyzed by Spain with almost worshipful admiration for the great expounder. Even matters that count against the Southern champion are here cited in his favor: Calhoun was "strongly conservative," believed in unequal enjoyment of liberty, was "vague" as to "equality before the law," advocated a doctrine that would cause "no end of trouble in use," distrusted the electorate, represented the "old order of aristocratic leadership" and impressively defended slavery as a "positive good." His chief formula was the rejection of an over-all majority in favor of a "concurring majority"—that is, taking separately the sense (majority) of each "conflicting interest" (or section) and thus arriving at the "sense of the entire community." If there was no general agreement, the unwilling section would block decision and no measure would be adopted. As for the Federal Union, this would have meant not so much a "concurring majority" if the sections did not concur, but rather a kind of frustration in terms of disagreement, veto (which is what concurring majority really meant) and non-action. Satisfactory, of course, for those who had no constructive, nationwide purpose for the federal government.

Calhoun, it is true, felt that the South was in the minority and needed protection; he sincerely believed that protection of the minority was a great fundamental doctrine and that only by achieving it could the Union be saved. He seems not to have contemplated what would have happened to his formula if the South should ever have wanted the federal government to adopt a measure and New England, as the unwilling and vetoing section, should have blocked action. That possibility seemed to arise in the case of Texas, but there New England opposition proved ineffective. (The lament about the South failing to have its way has been exaggerated.)

One finds neo-Calhounists (the reviewer is not now quoting Wiltse or Spain) who tell us that in laissez-faire, avoidance of controls and protection of minorities we shall find present-day solutions. This heavy subject cannot be covered here, but certain questions arise. What about laissez-faire—e.g., in the "Gilded Age"? (It is a sad misnomer to call it "economic liberalism.") What about agriculture, Calhoun's main interest? Has not farm income increased? What of bank failures? As for state rights, it can be shown that in Calhoun's day the states—e.g., as to banknote currency—were failing to perform essential functions. As for minorities, what of Negroes, what of back counties in

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South Carolina in Calhoun's time, and what of millions of less privileged Southern whites? How far in the social order did that "minority" extend which Calhoun was intent on protecting? And, though admitting its partial truth as to certain periods, should we not re-examine the idea that it is the states that have preserved, and the United States that has attacked, individual rights?

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SAFETY IN DOGMA

CRISIS AND HOPE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION, by Robert Ulich (Beacon; $3.75).

THE PURPOSE of this book can be indicated most simply by saying that it operates within the framework of traditional education, with such adjustments as changes in circumstances may require. The initial trouble, so the author maintains, lies in the fact that there are now so many more young people to be educated than was the case in former days. Lengthening the period of education does not meet this situation adequately. What is needed is a less exclusive emphasis on intellectual activities and a deeper concern to promote the growth of "maturity," which is tied up closely with emotional as well as with intellectual development. If this is done, all is safe again. For one thing, it puts life and meaning into "the consciousness of the transcendent." For another, it protects our perspective on values. The values to be cultivated must be "transcendent," i.e., they "must not be egocentric, they may not even be sociocentric, rather they must be cosmocentric." Thus we adopt the only course by which the future can be made secure. "When this ever transcendent consciousness no longer exists, a society is gliding down the slope toward ruthless imperialism, exploitation of the weaker, and finally, totalitarianism and despotism." In other words, Robert Ulich advises that if the future is to be made secure, a metaphysical or theological basis for spiritual values must be provided through the medium of education. Despite this prescription, he gives scant consideration to the problem of harmonizing such a purpose with our tradition of separation between Church and State.

The general point of view involves commitment to three articles of faith, with which time and constant reiteration have made us fairly familiar. These are: (1) that there is a reality which lies beyond or outside the realm of space and time; (2) that this reality is made accessible to us by a form of knowing which is not dominated by scientific method; (3) that our moral standards derive their authority from a transcendental source and not from everyday experience. In brief, the threat to this outlook on life is what seems to constitute the "crisis" in American education, whereas the "hope" that beckons us on is that adjustments can be made which will leave this dogma substantially what it was before.

The surprising feature in all this lies in what it ignores. No account is taken of the fact that a strenuous and sustained attempt is being made to supply a different philosophic basis for the business of education. The "pragmatic" philosophy of John Dewey, which is exerting a strong and constantly widening influence on American education, is, first of all, a powerful challenge to the three items of faith just mentioned and is a deliberate attempt to interpret education as a function within an entirely different frame of reference. How it is possible to give a fair and intelligent discussion of crisis and hope in American education without attempting to clarify the issue between "Deweyism" and traditionalism is past understanding.

To put it bluntly, the tendency to dispose of the "pragmatic" or "progressive" movement in education by dogmatic pronouncements has to be challenged. When the Harvard group, of which Dr. Ulich was a member, published its report under the title of *General Education in a Free Society*, it simplified its task tremendously by substituting *ex cathedra* utterances for empirical analysis. But it also paid the penalty of leaving things much where they were before. We do not advance our insight into the nature of truth by the simple device of insisting (a) that "the nature of truth and the methods of asserting it differ as between the areas," and (b) that "the work of any genius in art or philosophy or literature represents in some sense a complete and absolute vision." But even at this later date Dr. Ulich appears to be content to let it go at that. That his book has outstanding merits may be cheerfully conceded. Its literary quality is deserving of high praise and, likewise, its erudition and the tone in which its discussions are conducted. But these merits do not suffice to protect it against the charge that it mistakes a high-grade form of propaganda for scholarship.

BOYD H. BODE

MIDDLEBROWBEATING

TWO (GERTRUDE STEIN AND HER BROTHER) AND OTHER EARLY PORTRAITS (1908-12), by Gertrude Stein. With a foreword by Janet Flanner (Yale University Press; $5).

GERTRUDE STEIN: A BIOGRAPHY OF HER WORK, by Donald Sutherland (Yale University Press; $3.75).

IT IS not difficult to understand why the early Stein portraits have not previously been published; they are dull, whether read aloud or in silence. Miss Stein had written the wonderfully hefty *Three Lives* and the dogged *Making of Americans*, and she was moving steadily forward with her valuable verbal experiments, but in these pieces she did not find the range. They tell us next to nothing about her brother, who was so important in her life, and even when the subject is as tempting as "Flirting in the Bon Marché," the work seems arid and laboratoryish. The portraits might be regarded as exercises in the formulation of an enigmatic style, as practice maneuvers in *épater le bourgeois*, or as one might call it today, middlebrowbeating. As such they have a historical value.

Middlebrowbeating is a noble tradition and a cunning technique which has aided some of the most solid literary reputations of our century — Joyce, Proust, Kafka, Lawrence, for example. Its theory runs something like this: the enemy of the artist is not the untutored

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lowbrow but the half-tutored middlebrow, who knows just enough to be really ignorant but controls most money and honors. The best way to deal with him is *never* to talk his language: shock him profoundly; don't reason, don't expound; bowl him over, get him to denounce you in his press; make *him* come to *you*; make him creep back for another peep at the enigma you have ingeniously created. Only by playing upon his appetite for mystery will you gain the magic that has always protected the artist, whether medicine man or story-teller, against arrogant rulers.

Anyone familiar with the career of Stein will know how well she learned this lesson. Since her preoccupations were often trivial, since her massive, dinosaurian methods led to mannerism and not infrequent emptiness, since her intelligence seems to have outraced her talent, she may indeed have worked the trick—which has helped lesser artists as well as masters—overtime. That she keenly desired the bourgeois acceptance which she affected to spurn—and which the resolute honesty of her pages did in fact discourage—is apparent in her *Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, where every evidence of popular approval is painstakingly and gratefully recorded. Finally her hidden love was requited; the middlebrow took her to his well-stuffed bosom on the lecture platform, the stage, the library table. Near the end she became a kind of proxy parent to victorious GIs, a mannish, crewcut grandmother-type. And now that her gallant, touching success story is over, she has been honored with a biography.

But it is "a biography of her work," not her life. Donald Sutherland loves her legend far too dearly to wish to dispel any part of it by probing into its human origins. Every writer would die happy if he knew his books were to receive such an apostolic *apologia*. Sutherland *loves* the works of Stein and he is out to convert the world to her cause. Step by step, her esthetics and her *opera* are described and defended. "As more and more people go over the same ground, her work will seem more natural, as the work of romantic poets seems natural to us now because several generations have been over and over that ground. . . . And it is perfectly possible that the first half of this century . . . may find its most exact meaning in the word "steinesque."

Such devotion is more beautiful than convincing. I would hearken to it more readily if it were grounded upon more skepticism, not only about Stein but about literature itself. Sutherland has been, I think, the victim of his specialty, which is more interesting than most professorial specialties but none the less dangerous to perspective.

When they are seen historically, a simple but significant fact emerges about Stein and her literary generation. They all reached maturity before World War I, at a time when cultural disintegration was an open secret but there had been as yet none of the overt calamities which, along with still worse effects, have unsettled subsequent literary styles. Like her coevals, Stein had an esthetic birthright: she could pour forth her full creative energy into art expression; she did not have to face the many new problems, political, economic, psychological, military, philosophical, that now drain off so much of our collective literary libido. Perhaps in time our writers will have to become more rounded personalities than was necessary before 1914, but for the present at least they have considerably less chance of esthetic fruition, for the reason that they can no longer concentrate singlepointedly upon esthetic effect. This is the real meaning behind Stein's famous condolence to the "lost [younger] generation." It is corroborated by a glance at her friend Picasso, whose amazing esthetic energy continues to taunt younger painters who must now give so much of their time to extra-pictorial considerations. Cultural disintegration is bad for the artist, cultural upheaval worse. However intransigent, he leans heavily upon collective equipoise.

Sutherland's well-written, nicely felt, but shortsighted book raises an important present-day issue: can we see literary problems as isolatedly as did the more pure-artish of the middlebrowbeaters? Can we hope for real beauty from exquisites? As an aftermath of World War II and the disappointment of revolutionary hopes, as a natural reaction to ever increasing social confusion, the exquisite tradition is having a renewed vogue in the literary world, which no doubt always hankers childishly for periods when the word was supreme. But even writers must grow up some day. The time has come for greater clarity about our illustrious literary rebels of the early twentieth century, in spite of the fact that they now give so much sustenance to the advance-guard academy.

GERALD SYKES

LITTLE BY LITTLE

LAW AND SOCIETY IN THE RELATIONS OF STATES, by P. E. Corbett (Harcourt, Brace; $4.75).

OUR STRUGGLES for a more stable world order have thus far failed in large part because of our misleading ideas about the character of International Law. This is the thesis advanced by P. E. Corbett, formerly dean of Law at McGill University and now associated with the Center of International Studies at Princeton. International Law is not "law" and the International Society is not a "society" as we generally use those terms, because, when pressed, all governments will insist upon their nonsubordination to any superior. To employ these terms uncritically, therefore, is to stimulate approaches to international order that are bound to be frustrated.

The greater part of the book is taken up with a review of the main areas of contemporary International Law. The author's purpose, which seems fully achieved, is to document his thesis that it is misleading to call international usages International Law. While most positivist writers on International Law attempt theoretical refinements to meet the difficulties which Corbett points out, he would accept them and make a new start. He avers that neither doctrine alone nor sweeping declarations of association, like the United Nations Charter, will serve. What is needed is the step-by-step construction of international institutions, each dealing with a limited sphere and each by its effectiveness within that sphere binding the nations to the institution as a matter of self-interest. In other words, if each of the nations sees an advantage to itself in

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the long run from the continued functioning of an international organization operating in a defined area, it will abide by the dictates of that organization even in specific instances where they are in conflict with it. Corbett hopes that ultimately enough thin strands of this kind may be woven to hold international society firmly together.

Not in the United Nations as such, but in some of the associated agencies does Corbett find the patterns for the program he proposes: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and particularly the International Labor Organization. For a more fruitful start toward an abiding world society, Corbett proposes an organization similarly constituted with the goal of advancing on a worldwide scale the welfare of the individual.

This prospectus calls to mind, of course, the Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1946, and the proposed covenant on human rights, still in the drafting stage. To Corbett, this effort is far too ambitious. It embodies the false assumption that the formulation of rules on an international level and in sweeping fashion can have real significance. Corbett suggests that a single problem, such as racial discrimination, should be selected first. He recognizes that some may feel that attempts to obtain racial equality through international action should be postponed until the freedom to hold and express opinion has been won. He does not in this book undertake to debate the priority.

There will be grave doubts about many aspects of Corbett's position. Many students in the field, notably Lessup and Lauterpacht, believe that the emerging recognition of human rights in the international sphere is creating a new kind of International Law worthy of the name. Partisans of the Nuremberg Trials will challenge the attempt inherent in Corbett's position to strip them of the claim of legality. One may speculate whether the tradition of supreme sovereignty will ever be fundamentally qualified by the acceptance of adverse decisions in areas deemed inconsequential. Also, Corbett has failed to explain adequately what incentive there is today for many nations to subject themselves to an international organization in any part of the field of human rights.

But however liberals may resolve these underlying problems, they should give this book their careful attention. On the whole, they have ardently supported the attempt to formulate and obtain the ratification of a covenant on human rights. Corbett's position that real progress is impossible unless the efforts to promote human rights internationally are drastically circumscribed must be squarely faced. JACOB D. HYMAN

FICTION PARADE

THE SEASON'S DIFFERENCE, by Frederick Buechner (Knopf; $3.50).

THE BEETLE LEG, by John Hawkes (New Directions; $2.50).

BEFORE the genius of Dickens discovered them, children appeared only peripherally in literature. Since then, whether in Lewis Carroll or Henry James, Forrest Reid or Carson McCullers, they have become, along with nature boys, sailors and gamekeepers, one of the standard images, nostalgically regarded, of man before he falls, or as he is just about to fall, out of innocent at-oneness and into awkward self-awareness. What else, in fact, is the genre we have come to call the portrait of the artist as a young man but the story of this harrowing and inadvertent loss of grace?

Frederick Buechner's second novel is not another Portrait, but it does set half a dozen children, fierce and radiant in their unself-beholding ease, against an equal number of their elders, who are at a loss to be much more than articulately self-conscious. One of the adults has a vision, and there follows a good deal of orderly talk on the impossibility of redemption *except ye become as little children*, i.e., innocent and oblivious again. But when another of them is killed while trying to climb up to the children's tree-house, they also realize that the innocence they are after can never be achieved merely by imitating what they no longer are. They must find another way, and can expect no miracles to help them.

Judging from his securely contrived symbolism, his conservative if baroque syntax, his non-spatial narrative technique, and above all, his genteel dramatis personae (leisured, country-house-dwelling bohemians), Frederick Buechner still declines to expose himself to any novelistic possibilities beyond those perfected by Henry James. As in his first novel, a well-bred reverence for the New York Edition overwhelms every page, and the only evidence of any more recent influence is a touch, here and there, of the Manhattan Gothic (besides the tree-house, which I should have thought belonged to Truman Capote, there is a studiously grotesque description of a sideshow, and two adolescents who call themselves "the Uglies"). He is so smoothly Edwardian, in fact, that it seems perfectly fitting for his publishers to emboss his binding with his initials.

If *The Season's Difference* overlooks two generations of literary innovation entirely, *The Beetle Leg* cannot presume upon them enough. Its blurb asks us to believe that it is about the effects that the death by landslide of a construction worker has on a dam project out West, and implies a parallel to the sacrifice of Iphigenia. What the book is really about is Advanced Seminar English (admission by instructor's permission only). I found no communication, anywhere, of anything like felt experience; though I did find everything from Faulkner's naturalism to Cocteau's poetic realism (including an adaptation of the sinister motor-cycle brigade in the film version of *Orphée*). All the New Directions mannerisms are here, and they never seemed more perfunctory. Which is a pity, because John Hawkes has a keen sense of the word, which would probably be glad to tell him what he really feels, and has to say, if he would give it a chance. ROBERT PHELPS

STORY IN BOOK FORM: NUMBER ONE. Edited by Whit Burnett and Hallie Burnett (McKay; $3).

Until its publication was suspended in 1949, *Story* consistently printed some of the best short fiction written during the twenties and thirties. It encouraged young authors who were more interested in ideas and artistic integrity than in producing formularized merchandise for the big magazines; through its pages, for example, writers like Carson McCullers and Tennessee Williams first reached an audience. *Story in Book Form* follows the pattern established by the magazine; most of its twenty authors are newcomers, and the best work in the collection comes from their pens rather than from such established figures as Rearden Conner and Deny's Val Baker, both of whom are represented by rather mediocre selections.

Among the most impressive stories are Merrill Anderson's "Fog and the Saints," Arthur Burks's "The Captive," Daniel Dodsons "The Let-Down," Louis Stoumen's "The Blond Dog," William Wiegand's "The Science Teacher" and James Wyckoff's "The Door Between." They range in scene from a grammar-school class in biology to the interior of a bomber 18,000 feet above the Himalayas; in sub-

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ject matter from the analysis of evil to the affirmation of love; and in method or approach from naturalism and fantasy to humor and psychoanalysis. This promising group of young authors makes the revival of *Story* an extremely happy event.

WILLIAM PEDEN

ON THE AIR

Red Channels Rides Again

WHEN IT became known a little more than a month ago that Philip Loeb, "Papa Jake" of *The Goldbergs*, had been tried, condemned and sentenced by *Red Channels*, an interesting point was made by Mrs. Gertrude "Molly" Berg, the program's creator and star. She pleaded the necessity of dropping Loeb, on the ground that the livelihoods of 20 people were jeopardized as long as the actor's inclusion in the cast kept the first family of The Bronx off the air. Now a score of pantries are full again. *The Goldbergs* rides the megacycles over NBC-TV every Monday, Wednesday and Friday evening, at 7:15.

In satisfaction of any claim he might have against the program, Loeb accepted a settlement in the neighborhood of $45,000, and this is supposed to have taken everyone off the hook. Television Authority, the trade union of TV actors, had been preparing a well-meant but somewhat beside-the-point investigation into the validity of the *Red Channels* denunciation; Actors' Equity and the American Civil Liberties Union had passed resolutions insisting on fairness to Loeb; one of Mrs. Berg's three sponsors had implied that it might have nothing further to do with a program that tolerated calumny against a member of its cast. The exchange of money has put an end to any restlessness that might have been stirred up by this new example of *Red Channels*' self-appointed role as bouncer to the radio-television industry. The sum was little enough to pay for so much peace of mind.

The new program differs from the old half-hour serial in one respect. As so many people know, the formula is that "Molly" is forever being tripped up by her propensity for good deeds, but that each imbroglio is resolved to the greatest advantage of the most deserving citizens. Since the show has been cut to a quarter-hour, it has been reconstructed to the pattern of a three-act play. The situation is established on Monday night; conflict, confusion and suspense are introduced on Wednesday; and on Friday everything is fine as silk again.

Mrs. Berg writes and directs as skillfully as ever to produce comedy that has an inner logic, that skirts but never falls into the trap of bathos. All the members of her old cast were there on opening night except Loeb, whose place was taken by Harold Stone. Mrs. Berg wrote the opening script in such a way as to give him only the briefest appearance: he came on for a few words near the very end. Stone's voice was uncannily like Loeb's; he looked older; understandably he seemed timorous. Being an experienced actor, he will get over that stage fright. In a week or two all will be normal—in the studio.

At the end of the war, there were about 7,000 television receiving sets in the country. NBC's researchers now announce that, as of December 1, 1951, the figure has risen to 15,176,200. Before long, the number will go still higher. The FCC is preparing to lift its "freeze," which, since September, 1948, has refused further licenses for the operation of television stations. As a result of that 1948 action, there are now 108 TV stations on the air. After the "thaw" sets in, another eight to twelve months must pass before most of the new outlets start broadcasting (ultimately, there will be room in the spectrum for about 2,300 in the United States). But set manufacturers will start beating the sales drum as soon as the FCC acts.

Radio, meanwhile, is still being heard. For the first time in their history, the four major radio networks have banded together to compile statistics on the number of radio sets in the country. Of course, it is competition from TV—which three of the four radio chains control—that brought about this united front. At any rate, we have some figures now on which all the leading radio broadcasters agree. As of January 1, 1952, there were 105.3 million radio sets in operation in this country. A total of 42.8 million "households" had at least one radio receiver; 34 million more sets were listed as "secondary" or "portables"; 3.5 million automobiles were equipped with radios; institutions, dormitories and barracks had 900,000 sets.

There was a time when the networks paid no attention to radios in cars or barracks or homes for the aged. Now each set must be counted. Program costs have been cut to the bone; advertising rates have been reduced; all kinds of new deals are being made; networks are fighting individual station owners for a diminishing dollar. Yet one industry controls both radio and television. Once I annoyed some of my friends in broadcasting by saying here that the industry is schizophrenic.

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE

Portrait

S. N. BEHRMAN is a playwright in search of material. He has so often been complimented on the felicity of his phraseology that one might suppose such praise a disguised criticism of his content. Behrman does have something to say, but his problem is that he is rarely able to say it "straight out," he always speaks through a mask.

Behrman is a man of rather emotional, almost lyrical and, if you will, sentimental nature, embarrassed by a sense that this nature is not quite smart enough for the society in which he finds himself and in which he would like to occupy a favored place. Thinking of himself—and he is preoccupied with the subject—he is ready to weep, but society, he believes, would consider such behavior unseemly. Looking at the world, he is almost ready to cry out or at least to heave so profound a sigh that the sound might be construed as a protest, so he suppresses his impulse and flicks our consciousness with a soft wit that contains as much self-depreciation as mockery. He tries to chide his world with a voice that might be thought

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to belong to someone else—a person far more brittle, debonair, urbane than he knows himself to be.

On the surface, then, there is the somewhat Anglicized gentleman gracing a cosmopolitan salon where deft speech and a twinkling eye will lend him a most engaging personality; beneath, there is the "second man," the real Behrman, who is mischievous because he is timid, a sensitive, secretively observing boy nearly always on the verge of sobbing over the spectacle he beholds —of which one of the saddest phenomena is his own discomfort and inability to speak freely.

The sad young man sees that society is mostly harsh, trivial, venal and unkind, but it *is* Society—the world we live in—and who can deny the world without making himself a fool? The young man's "hero" is always some such fool who defies society—in the thirties it was admissible to treat him as a "revolutionary"—and his foil is always some woman (usually played by Ina Claire) who lent the fool her sympathy, begging forgiveness for not being able fully to share his folly and finally retiring with a smile and a tear to the safety and comfort of a society that the fool scorns. What makes this pattern valuable is that it represents the comic pathos of so many of us.

Behrman's mask—and its motive, composed of guilt and apology, of aspiration and a confession of frailty—is not unfamiliar in dramatic literature. Oscar Wilde wore a similar one. The difference is that Wilde was more genuinely a worldling and more "aesthetic" than Behrman. Wilde really exulted in his mask—although in the end he felt compelled to tear it off. But Behrman, for all his playfulness, is a warm-hearted moralist who wishes with all his (insufficient) might that someone would make a more hospitable and less hypocritical world for him.

As time moved on, the "revolutionists" of the thirties began to seem even greater fools than we first thought them —and dangerous besides. Behrman had some difficulty finding proper symbols to represent either the "naughty" world or the "foolish" rebels. Even the man (or woman) in between was hard to convey in terms that were dramatically cogent or attractive. It was "no time for comedy," and when Behrman undertook more seriously to delineate the "fascist" type (*The Talley Method*, *Dunnigan's Daughter*) there was an indecision in the stroke.

The latest Behrman play to reach our stage, *Jane*, the dramatization of a Maugham story, was written five years ago. Even this slight comedy, observed against the background of Behrman's past work, reveals the basis of his psychology. Its central character is a remarkably frank woman who seems dowdy when she is just plain Jane from Liverpool, but who becomes a sensational success when she is dressed up by a young opportunist in the most dashing London fashion. Jane can't stand the compromise of her life with the opportunist; she retires to the protection and love of an honest, rough-and-ready reactionary.

The play has its pleasant moments of shy jocularity and smoothly worded deviousness, but even so there are faint rumors of a troubled world—quickly suppressed by a flood of strenuous epigrams. The mask has worn thin; the practice becomes tenuous. Behrman's difficulty is not that he cannot tell a story but that he is afraid to tell the real story he has in mind lest it break the myth of his glib affability. Nor has he yet the strength to define himself in less ambiguous terms. Some day he may find it. In any case a good part of the harried public responds to the blandishments of his courteous manner, though one suspects that the author has already outgrown it.

One hopes too that in the future producers and directors will stage Behrman with some recognition of the poet buried in him (that he himself hardly knows) so that even a play like *Jane* is not done in the stiff pseudo-English drawing-room style that encourages most of the actors (except Howard St. John and Edna Best, who are generally excellent) to speak in a manner which, if it were any more "British," would render them unable to speak at all.

HAROLD CLURMAN

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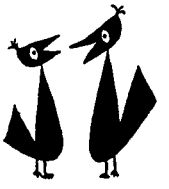

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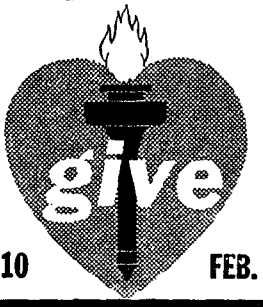

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